[45] THE CARIBS, GUADELOUPE. PART TWO

The Origin, Customs, Religion, and Other Practices Of The Caribs, Commonly Called Savages, Early Inhabitants Of Guadeloupe

197 114 As our mission was established principally for the instruction of the infidel savages, it is necessary to describe their origins and customs, for a knowledge of the temperament of those with whom we deal will make it easier to judge the ultimate success of the mission. We recount here only what is certain. Father Raymond Breton, a missionary monk who conversed nearly two years with the savages and who learned their language well in that time (1), was able to learn their customs

1. Parisian version: "Father Raymond... learned their language so well that during that time he was able..." [See: Joseph Rennard, Les Caraibes, La Guadeloupe (The Caribs, Guadeloupe), Paris, 1929. pp. 5-18.]

and ceremonies. He witnessed nearly all of these or learned of them first hand, at least as far as those of Dominica are concerned. In the other islands they have other notions, as we have seen from the report of Father Meslan, a Jesuit who has visited the savages of Martinique.

[46] CHAPTER I

The Origin and Temperament of The Savages

101 174 Nothing can be made of all their fancies and lies concerning their origins except that they are descended from the people of the mainland closest to the islands. That much is certain. The friendship they maintain with them and the commerce with them are signs of 101 it, as is the uniformity of the name they call themselves—kallinago [callinago] in the men's language and kalliponam [calliponam] in

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101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouɑ̃ouri, from the word ballouɑ̃, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis]—and call our savages Carafbes [Caribs].

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173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of de-
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scendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty,
[825] poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the peo-
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ple of the mainland.

174 Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica be-
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cause they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was
[227 at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and
567] a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

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173 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that
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174 they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)

1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

1. Origins

●101 The true name of these Island Caribs is Callínago. These are the cannibals and man-eaters about whom the Spanish complained so much that they were untameable and that they devoured such prodigious numbers of them and their allies. For this is what the Spanish say in their books. However, I do not wish to have them slandered any more, for I have no grounds to complain about their cruelty. On the contrary I will freely attest their mildness towards me, although it is a sweet cruelty to be chewed, devoured, and torn to pieces in the service of God. The women call them Callíponam. [105]

Caribs of South America are called Galíbi. I have finally learned from captains on the island of Dominica that the words Galíbi and Carib were names that the Europeans had given them. Their true name was Callínago although they designated themselves only with the words oubaóbanum and baloüébonum: that is to say either 'from the islands' 113 and 'from the continent.' The Island Caribs were Galibis from South America who branched off in order to conquer the islands. The captain who led them was small in size but great in courage. He did not eat much and drank even less. He exterminated all the native inhabitants, but kept the women, who have always retained something of their language in order to perpetuate the memory of these conquests. He made them carry the heads of his enemies into the caves among the rocks which are at the edge of the sea, and the French have found these. This was done in order that fathers could show them to their children and they successively to their posterity. They told me that they had had kings, and that the word abouyou was the name of those who carried them on their shoulders. The Caribs who had their carbet [men's house] at the foot of Soufrière on Dominica beyond d'Amichon were descended from them. But I did not ask them if the dynasty had begun with this captain who had conquered the islands nor when these kings had ceased to rule. [229]

[157] The Caribs do not use gayac as a remedy for either yaws or the 24 great pox. When they make forked posts of gayac wood to support their houses they say they make it for themselves and their descendants. Actually this wood seems indestructible. For their children they make

[824 For their children they make
[624 grotesque dolls out of it which are called mánlira, the same name as the wood. I have taken some of these dolls out from under rocks where they had been hidden by the savages who had been exterminated. The Caribs did not dare to look at these because of superstition. These dolls were just as beautiful as if they had been newly made. I believe this wood sinks to the bottom of water like a stone. [354]

Caribs who come from other islands are also people of this
● [101] nation. [310]

2. Religious Beliefs

754 The Caribs explain the causes of all their misfortunes as due to
796 the gods of the boyes [shamans], or due to maboyas [evil spirits], or due to sorcerers. This is because the first are more feared than loved, and the second are hated. They often revenge themselves, sometimes mistakenly and very crudely, on those whom they believe to be the third and who are nothing less than sorcerers. I have seen an old
[80] man who was a little bald and who complained he had been bewitched -- as if people only became bald in this way. [271]

752 The boye sings to cause his gods to descend. When the Caribs
796 go to war, or when some are sick, they summon a boye. An offering is prepared and placed at the back of the hut which is always circular. A hammock is hung. The audience lines up along the side. The boye arrives, sometimes accompanied by a second boye, and begins to sing. One of the two boyes throws up tobacco smoke instead of incense, and by this means he causes his false god to descend. I have distinctly heard him when he falls like a sack of flour, but I have not heard the sound people say he makes with his fingers. The boye gives the god the hammock to sit in, and presents him the offering to eat and drink. This spirit of the darkness hates light and orders the fire to be smothered and all the openings through which daylight may pass to be filled, although the ceremony is always done at night. Once I attempted to enter with a fire brand in order to prevent this abomination from occurring, but the women stopped me. Many other times when I was walking around the place I heard a voice like "John in the Vineyard," which made me believe that there was trickery. I decided to find out the real facts and approached the spot without anyone's noticing me.

1 [i.e., of gayac wood -- Analyst]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

from the missionaries and other observers who had contact with the Indians between 1650 and 1700, when the Lesser Antilles were first being settled. Bouton (1640), Breton (1877, 1892), Labat (1724, 1931), La Borde (1704, 1886), Du Puis (1652), and Dutertre (1667–71; copied in Rochefort, 1665, and Davies, 1666) are the principal primary sources. These have been compiled by Ballet (1875), Harris (1904), Sheldon (1820), Cornilliac (1875), Edwards (1818–19), Featherman (1881–91), Jefferys (1760), Joyce (1916), and Ober (1895), in the last six cases in conjunction with comparable compilations of *Arawak* ethnography. Delawarde (1938), Ober (1880), and D. Taylor (1935, 1936, 1938) have provided information concerning the modern descendants of the *Carib* in the West Indies, while Conzemius (1928) and Sapper (1897 b) have described the *Black Carib* of Central America.

Although the number of *Carib* sources and compilations is smaller than for the *Arawak*, each source, being more or less ethnographic in nature, contains relatively more information, and our knowledge of *Carib* culture is therefore comparable to that of *Arawak* culture. Many of the missionaries failed to distinguish between islands, and as a result the following account will deal with the *Carib* as a whole. The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700, when the *Carib* were concentrated on Dominica, Martinique, and St. Vincent.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The *Carib* had a strong national consciousness. To distinguish themselves from the *Arawak* they used the term *Calinago* or *Calino*, which was corrupted by Columbus to *Caribales*, and later to *Carib*. From it comes our word "cannibal." The inhabitants of each island had a special name, which was formed by adding a suffix to the name of the island. Dominica, for example, was called Oüaitoucoubouli, and its inhabitants had the name *Oüaitoucoubouliri*.

Carib men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*. When speaking together both sexes used the men's language. The old men also had some words not found in the ordinary men's language. These were developed in the war councils.

No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered. By 1700, it is said that the number of those Indians had fallen to 4,000, half of them on Dominica and the rest on St. Vincent. The *Carib* were more robust than the *Arawak*. They had well-developed, flexible bodies and broad buttocks and shoulders. Their height was medium, the skin olive-colored, and the hair and eyes black. When at ease they tended to be melancholy; when aroused they became truculent and vindictive.

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6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

THE CARIBS OF DOMINICA

By Douglas Taylor

Introduction

As the last direct descendants of those first-found "American Redskins," the Island Arawak and the conquering Island Carib, the Caribs of Dominica possess an unique historical and sentimental interest. Today, in fact, they are the only indigenous "Indians" to be found in all the West Indian chain between the Guianas and Florida. Owing, no doubt, to the rugged nature of their homeland, they have outlived their cousins of the other Caribbees (with the partial exception of St. Vincent) by some 200 years. But at last their course is run, and they are fast disappearing. Of their story little is known and less written; and it is with the purpose of recording, before it becomes too late, something of this vestige of a once virile and powerful people, that my own attempt at knowing them has been made.

Dominica was discovered on Columbus' second voyage, and was so named by him for its being first sighted on Sunday, November 3, 1493. In a letter dated 1494, Diego Chanca, the fleet's doctor, gives its native name as Cayrē, though this may have been a confusion with the Arawak term for island or land in general—kaera, as in Turukaera for Guadeloupe, and Iwannakaera for Martinique. However, the population was then of too warlike a nature, and the Caribbees of too little value in the Spaniards' eyes, to warrant any serious attempts at settlement. It is therefore not until well into the seventeenth century that we get any reliable reports—this time from the French missionary fathers—of the Carib Islanders.

Father Raymond Breton spent nearly 25 years among the Caribs of Dominica, and wrote subsequently a Carib dictionary, a grammar, and a translation of the usual prayers, together with a catechism in their tongue. Under the various headings of the dictionary he gives a concise description of the local beliefs, customs, and arts, as well as of the flora and fauna of the island, domestic utensils, weapons, etc. While he deplores what he naturally considers the Caribs' moral laxity in certain respects (drink, women, and especially their insensibility or indifference to the call of religion; he succeeded, he himself tells us, during his 25 years of zeal, in converting only "quelques enfants

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

114 sur le point de la mort"), he shows a general liking for his hosts, calls them his friends, and says that theft and lying were unknown to them before the advent of the Christian Europeans—a statement confirmed by La Borde, Rochefort, and Labat. Rochefort further says that while the Caribs of St. Vincent and Dominica were slave owners they never evinced the same cruelty as was common among the whites, but treated their slaves, except for the obligation of work, more like their own children than anything else. Breton gives the native name
● [101] of Dominica as Wâitukûbuli.

648 The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), inasfar as it left the then unsettled island of Dominica "to the undisturbed possession of the native Indians," was violated by the English only 12 years later, on the pretext that the French had made establishments on the island. From then on until the end of the century these two pillars of civilization ousted one another from their respective nests as often as and whenever opportunity offered; and we can well imagine that between them "the native Indian," if not exterminated, was driven more and more into the fastnesses of forest and mountain. Writing in 1795,
114 Atwood, in his history of Dominica, mentions as still prevalent the
177 Carib custom of head deformation, and the skill with which even the children used bow and arrow. Even the memory of both is now lost, though as late as 1862 the Dominican Caribs sent the following articles to the London Exhibition: A "nest" of 12 baskets, bows and arrows, hebichet (manioc sifter), rattles, powder flasks, dishes.

177 Although I know of no records for that time, it is probable that the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of the Dominica Caribs' final conversion to Christianity, and of the greatest decay in national language, tradition, and custom. An old Carib still living told me that previous to the middle of the last century there was no church in or near the Reserve, but that some Caribs used to go to Marie Galante in their canoes to attend mass, or to have their children baptized.

114 In 1877, and again some 15 years later, Salybia, around which the Caribs were already concentrated, was visited by the American ornithologist, Frederick Ober, who appears to have been the first person since the middle of the eighteenth century to take the slightest interest in this last isolated island tribe. It is noteworthy that he is still remembered in the Reserve today by men and women who could have been little more than infants at the time of his visit. Ober's "Camps in the Caribbees" is a travelog and, as such, unsatisfactory as to ethnological data—as much by lack of detail as by the constant suspicion of inexactitude, or rather, poetic license. I have spoken to several sons and daughters of Ober's two guides at the time of his first visit, and none of them claims to remember having heard such a story as that told by Ober of his encounter in the forest

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

covery, remains in any island of the group. All have perished, leaving behind them only these mute memorials of their former existence there; and all we have to inform us else, is the scant information to be gleaned from the pages of historians, who, at the best, could not appreciate the value to the present age of ethnological material considered strictly as such. Only in casual manner, and merely as incidental to the historical narrative, are we informed of the most valuable "finds" of Columbus when he discovered this so-called New World.

THE CARIBS OF THE LESSER ANTILLES. But, although no living link connects the present with the first voyage of Columbus, yet, as we know, there are to-day alive some descendants of the people discovered on his second voyage. It was in 1493, that, sailing farther to the south than previously, he first made land about midway of the chain of islands now known as the Lesser Antilles, extending in a general line from Puerto Rico to the north coast of South America, describing the arc of a circle more or less regular, and within the tenth and twentieth degrees of north latitude. Strictly defined, they lie between the twelfth and eighteenth, and are mainly of volcanic origin. Here dwelt the Caribs, a warlike people, who had conquered all who had hitherto opposed them, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, and who had reached as far northward as Puerto Rico, in their devastating advance. The residents of that island, as well as those of Santo Domingo, and even of Jamaica and the Bahamas, were living in dread of their incursions, at the time a more powerful and remorseless enemy appeared, in the shape of the foreign adventurers from Spain. Beyond Puerto Rico, looking east and south, no trace exists of the residence in the lesser islands of the same people who inhabited the Greater Antilles, except in vestiges of subjugated tribes.

Columbus first landed at the island of Guadaloupe, there making the important discovery of the Caribs, or can-

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9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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nibals, — both words derived from the language of these people themselves. He found there natives less advanced than those of the northern islands in the primitive pursuits of peace, but more inured to war, braver, and less disposed to submit.

Their first reception of the interlopers was a declaration of war, which they sustained so successfully that the Spaniards left them alone for many years, only making descents upon them when they could take them at a disadvantage and enslaving them under an act which allowed the capture and transportation of such as should be proven cannibals. After the enslavement of the rapidly-decreasing natives of the larger islands was prohibited, it was most surprising to find how many "cannibals" the Spaniards discovered. I do not think it has been successfully maintained that the natives of the Lesser Antilles were anthropophagous, but, as it suited the purposes of the Spaniards to have them declared so, thus they have remained, with that stigma attached to their name, to this day.

At all events, they were too disagreeable for their discoverers to desire further acquaintance with them, except occasionally, and to this fact is due the survival of their present descendants to-day. Taking the islands in sequence, from Puerto Rico eastward, the first group we find is that of the Virgins, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and so named by him. Were this a narrative of his discoveries, I should like to linger by the way, and point out to my readers the many incidents of that voyage, and describe the islands as I myself have seen them; but I cannot allow myself that pleasure, but must confine my attention to the facts bearing upon the ancient inhabitants and their present remains. I have not discovered, nor have there been found, many relics of the natives of the Virgins differing from those in other islands farther south, and more numerous.

In the island of St. John are some rocks covered with

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

mocks, etc. They made fire by the friction of two sticks, and torches of candle-wood."

The author quoted above appends an extensive vocabulary to his work, from which I extract a few words which, he says, were common between the Caribs and the Apalaches, of Florida: as, Cakomees, or little curiosities; Bouttou, a club of weighty wood; Taumali, "a certain piquancy or deliciousness of taste"; Etonton, an enemy; Allouba, a bow; Allouani, arrows; Taonaba, a great pond; Mabouya, an evil spirit; Akambouyi, the soul of man, etc.

This much from the ancient writer, to explain the status of the Carib, as a savage, or semi-savage. Let us now turn to modern descriptions of him, as found in Guiana, his present home. As to the tribal name, a recent writer says: "The Arawak name for Carib Place, or home, is *Caribisi;* the Caribs style themselves, *Carinya.*"[1] Humboldt says: "They call themselves Carina, Calina, Callingo. The Calibis (of Cayenne) and others, who originally inhabited the plains between the mountains of Caripe (Caribe) and the village of Maturin, also the native tribes of Trinidad, and the village of Cumana, are all tribes of the great Caribbee nation." Davies, the author previously quoted, says: "The ancient and natural inhabitants of the Caribbees, are those who have been called by some authors Cannibals, Anthropophagi, or Eaters of Men; but most of others who have written of them commonly called them Caribbians, or Caribs; but their primitive and originary name, and that which is pronounced with the most gravity, is Carüibes. They believe themselves descended from the Caribites, or Calibis, of the Main, in that country or province which is commonly called Guayana. The Caribs of St. Vincent said (1600) that their first insular ancestors were rebels against the Arrowaks, and retreated to the Caribbees (then inhabited by scattered Arrowaks), first to Tobago, and thence going still farther northward."

[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm, London, 1883.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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The Indians of Guiana to-day, says a very thorough investigator, who published the results of his researches ten years ago,[1] are divided into four branches, as the Warrau, Arawak, Wapiana, and the Carib. "The languages of these four branches are quite distinct from each other; and within the language are dialectic variations. . . A stranger finds it difficult to distinguish, merely from appearances, the different members of the respective tribes. . . . The Arawaks are slightly taller than the Warraus; their bodies, though short and broad, are far better proportioned; skin lighter in color; expression of face brighter and more intelligent. . . . They are the most cleanly of all the Indians. . . . The Caribs are darker; somewhat taller than the Arawaks, bodies better built; having, in appearance and in reality, far greater strength; features coarser, with the appearance of greater power. . . . There is a constant enmity between Caribs and Arawaks. The Arawaks to this day retain a timid dread of the Caribs, who repay the feeling with contempt. . . . The Caribs are the most warlike of all, especially the pure Caribs. . . . They are peculiar among the tribes, in that they occupy no particular district, but are scattered more or less thickly throughout the country. . . . They are the great pottery-makers. . . . The Caribs seem to represent migrations into the country already occupied by the other tribes, and may be contradistinguished as natives and stranger tribes; the three branches of natives being all united by a common feeling of aversion to the Caribs, or strangers. . . . The natives all make their hammocks of the fiber of a palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) while the Caribs make theirs of *cotton*. . . . The fact that the true, or island Caribs, had two vocabularies, one used by the men, and the other by the women, has long been known." Humboldt alludes to this difference of speech, and it is mentioned in my "Camps in

[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurn. London, 1883.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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which must have taken the strength of a giant to wield and carry continuously in battle, one of them weighing over six pounds and measuring ten inches in breadth. This name is applied, however, for lack of a better, at present, as they may have served other uses than those of war. Chisels of shell, such as are common in Barbadoes, and the low-lying islands, are infrequently found in those that are volcanic, which mainly constitute the Caribbees.

The few in the Guesde collection are from the shell of the fossil *strombus gigas*, as being harder than the living *strombus*. "It is certain that the Caribs did not take the living *strombi*, but were careful to use the fossil, which had in time acquired the hardness of ivory."

Several minor collections exist in the West Indies, and these, if possible, should be gathered together in some American museum, where they can be studied by those to whom the scientific aspects of the problem are familiar and whose opinion would be competent.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANTILLEANS.—In a general way, as shown in the preceding pages, I have gathered such information and herewith present it, as has been available to one engaged in other pursuits than ethnology. It would certainly be germane to inquire into, and even to speculate upon, the origin of the peoples whose works we have been examining. Without any pretence to authoritative premises, yet I would venture to offer some facts bearing upon the question, with the humble hope that they may aid in the elucidation of the problem of the origin of the West-Indian Aborigines.

Says the great Humboldt: "When a continent and its adjacent islands are peopled by one and the same race, we may choose between two hypotheses: an emigration from one, or from the other. . . . The archipelago of the W. I. islands forms a narrow and broken neck of land parallel with the isthmus of Panama, and supposed by some geographers to have anciently joined the peninsula of

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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Florida with the northeast extremity of South America. It is the eastern shore of an inland sea, which may be considered as a basin with several outlets. . . . The islanders of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas were, according to the uniform testimony of the first *conquistadores*, entirely different from the Caribs. . . . The Caribs, in the XVIth. century, extended from the Virgin Islands on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco, perhaps to the Amazon. . . . Those of the continent admit that the small W. I. islands were anciently inhabited by the Arawaks, a warlike nation yet existing on the Main. . . . They assert that the male Arawaks were exterminated, except the women, by the Caribs, who came from the mouth of the Orinoco. In support of this theory, note the analogy existing between the language of the Arawaks and that of (some of) the Carib women."

[173] The present Caribs, says Im Thurm, say that they arrived in Guiana from sky-land, through a hole in the clouds. Davies, the ancient author from whom we have extensively quoted, says: "The Dominican Caribs said their ancestors came out of the continent, from among the Calibis, to make war against the Arouages (Arawaks) who inhabited the islands, and whom they utterly destroyed, excepting the women, whom they took to themselves," etc. Some have held that the nation had origin in the Floridian peninsula; but this theory is founded upon something like the following "testimony" quoted by Davies (17th century): "from one Master Brigstock, an English gentleman, one of the most curious and inquisitive persons in the world, who, among his other great and singular accomplishments, hath attained the perfection of the Virginian and Floridian languages. . . . Who says (1653) the Caribbeans were originary inhabitants of the Septentrional part of America, of that country which is call'd Florida. They came to inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites, among whom they lived a long

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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time; and they left there some of their people, who to this day go under the name of Caribbeans(?); but the first origin is from the Cofachites, who only changed their denomination," etc.

Of like trivial character, is nearly all the scant testimony as to a northern origin for these peoples. But, recently, a high authority, Prof. W. H. Holmes,[1] of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington, claims to have found what may be termed a Caribbean contact with Florida, in certain treatment of such examples of ceramic art as have been found in Florida. Without seeking to controvert this, I will merely present the facts, as shown by the historians, by tradition, and by existing objects, which seem to lead us back to the South American continent as the ancient home of the Indians of both the Greater and Lesser Antilles. That the inhabitants of these two great groups, or chains of islands, were of different stock, has been, I think, conclusively shown. Says the old writer, heretofore quoted: "The great difference in language and character between the Caribs and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, hath given birth to the opinion that their origin was different. . . . Of this there seems indeed to be little doubt; but the question, from whence each class of islands was first peopled, is of more difficult solution. . . . Rochefort (1658) pronounced them originally a nation of Florida; . . . yet, the natives of the Bahamas, nearest to Florida, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola. Sir Walter Raleigh assures us that the Charaibes of the coast of Guiana spoke the language of Dominica; and I incline to the opinion of Martyr, that the islanders were rather a colony from the Caribs of South America, than from any nation of the North. . . . Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana. . . . It does not appear

[1] "Caribbean Influences on the Prehistoric Ceramic Art of the Southern States," 1894.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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that they entertained the most remote idea of a northern ancestry. . . . The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana; they considering those islanders as a colony of Arawaks, a nation of South America with whom the Charaibes of that continent are constantly at war. . . . But their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. . . . The Caribs of Guiana still (18th century) cherish the traditions of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colors which he left them at parting."(?) — *Edwards's History of Jamaica.*

We have seen that historical tradition points towards the southern continent as their ancestral abiding-place; let us make another inquiry. Of the animals that constituted their food-supply, nearly all the mammals were allied to species or genera of the South American continent; such were the Agouti, Peccary, Armadillo, Opossum, Raccoon, "Musk-rat," the Dumb Dog (now extinct), perhaps the Alco, the Yutia and Almique (of Cuba), and possibly, in the extreme south, a species of monkey. Add to these the Iguana, which is peculiarly tropical, the many birds, and the fishes, and we have their entire food-supply of an animal nature; saving that the Caribs are said to have been anthropophagous; though I doubt if they were more than ritual cannibals, at the worst.

We have seen, also, that the present Caribs of Guiana conform in many respects to those of the islands, and have the same characteristics, preserving their ancient dislike of the Arawaks to the extent of positive aversion. It only remains to quote from a high authority as to their linguistic affinities, to close this summary of points of resemblance. As to the larger islands being inhabited by Indians speaking the same tongue, we may recall that a Lucayan interpreter served Columbus throughout his

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

called canoes. . . . Such is approximately the culture of the existing stock.

"The Carib stock is one of the most extensively distributed in the southern continent. At the discovery, its dialects were found on the Lesser Antilles, the Caribbee islands, and on the mainland from the mouth of the Essequibo to the Gulf of Maracaibo. . . . All the island, Orinoco, and Guiana Caribs can be traced back to the mainland of northern Venezuela. . . . The physical features of the Caribs assimilate closely to those of the Arawaks. They are taller, in the average, and more vigorous; but their skulls are equally brachycephalic and orthognathic. . . . The Caribs have had a bad reputation on account of their anthropophagous tendencies; indeed, the word *cannibal* is a mispronunciation of their proper name."[1]

An ancient writer says that this word was first heard off the coast of Haiti,—*canaibo*, an aboriginal word, meaning man-eater;—"And finding in *canaibo* the word *can* (Khan), Columbus was of the opinion that these pretended man-eaters were in reality merely subjects of the great Khan of Cathay, who, for a long time, had been scanning these seas in search of slaves."

The Caribs were quite on a par with their neighbors, the Arawaks, and in some respects superior to them. "For instance, their canoes were larger and finer (?), and they had invented the device of the sail, which seems to have been unknown to all the other tribes on the continent. . . . To some extent they were agricultural, and their pottery was of superior quality."—*Brinton.*

We may deduce, then, from these desultory observations, that these people, so different in many ways, and yet with striking resemblances, had a southern origin; that they were still in the neolithic period, possessing no books, paper, hieroglyphs or ideographs; the rude pet-

[1] "The American Race," by Daniel G. Brinton. New York, 1891.

THE CARIBS OF THE ANTILLES

Their Present-Day Representatives on the island of Dominica

122 /127/ In the course of a recent voyage to the Antilles, on board the yacht Resolute, I had the good fortune to meet a few survivors of the Indians who inhabited part of these islands at the time of the arrival of Europeans in the New World. /These were/ the Caribs, (1)

1. One says either Caraïbe or Carib.

[16] of whom a hundred of pure stock still exist, relegated to a corner of [13] Dominica. I must first of all thank M. Pierre Lebaudy for the alacrity with which he agreed to undertake the expedition which permitted us to reach the Carib territory. In addition, we found an invaluable aid in the person of the Governor of the island and a most sympathetic reception on the part of the English colony, particularly the engineer Mr. Noble, who procured horses and porters for us, and carried his kindness so far as to accompany us on our trip and serve as our guide.

Before summing up the observations I was able to make in the course of the trip, I believe it would perhaps be useful to recall in a few words who the Caribs of the Antilles were and what is known of their origin and their migrations.

● 101 When Christopher Columbus discovered the Lesser Antilles, he found them inhabited by Carib Indians, intrepid sailors, adept fishermen, proud, admitting no domination and justly feared by their [24] neighbors, since they had the reputation of devouring their enemies after having killed them. (2) This population made a striking con-

2. It would be from the word canibi, one of the names given the Caribs, that the term "cannibul" comes.

trast then with the peaceful Indian peoples who inhabited the large islands and who were /128/ Arawaks, or more exactly Tainos, the latter term having been reserved for the Arawaks who had emigrated to the Antilles. Indeed, the Arawaks according to present ethnographic data, were not the first inhabitants of these islands; they had supplanted there a more ancient race, about whom we have no information as yet. The Arawaks, who probably came from /130/ South

101 America, notably from Venezuela, had at first overrun the Lesser Antilles which were nearest the mainland: Trinidad, Tabago, and the other Leeward Islands; Grenada, St. Vincent, Ste. Lucie, Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and the whole Lesser Antillean Archipelago, and finally the Greater Antilles: Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica and Cuba.

174 Some say two centuries, (1) others say only two generations be-

[13] 1. Denikes, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and The Peoples of the Earth/. Paris, 1900.

fore the discovery of America, the Caribs had already, in all the Lesser Antilles, replaced the Tainos who inhabited them before; they had even begun to contest with them the eastern part of Puerto Rico and sometimes launched naval expeditions against them as far as the coast of Santo Domingo.

Where did these Caribs come from? Historians have expressed completely contradictory hypotheses on this subject. According to Rochefort, (2) Father Labat (3) and others, they appear to have come

[13] 2. Rochefort (C. de), Histoire Naturelle et morale des isles Antilles de l'Amérique /Natural and Moral History of the Islands of the Antilles of America/. in-4, Rotterdam, 1658.

3. Labat (J. -B.), Nouveau Voyage aux isles de l'Amérique /New Voyage to the Islands of America/. in-12, Nouvelle Edition, Paris, 1742.

from the Appalachee country of the Florida Peninsula and to have reached the southern tip of this peninsula. They then crossed in their canoes the arm of the sea which separated them from the Bahamas, which they invaded one after the other, spreading out as they took their way from north to south through all the small islands of the Antillean archipelago. From there, they appear to have even crossed to South America, notably to the Guianas and Brazil, penetrating deeply into the interior of these countries. Father Dutertre (4) and

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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KINSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE ISLAND CARIB

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

PAST AND PRESENT

[2] THE RESPECTIVE ROLES of Carib and Arawak tribes in shaping the social organization and general culture of the northeast tropical forest area of South America appear to constitute a moot point which is far from settled. Any evidences of acculturation from the islands where these two stocks are known to have met and mingled should therefore be of interest. While I have [127] been obliged to rely in the main, for the purposes of the present paper, upon historical material, comparisons have been made wherever this was possible with conditions obtaining today among the Carib remnant in Dominica. Moreover, it is hoped that the tentative interpretation of the kinship terms and of their social implications will not be without value.

[1] The Island Caribs, says Breton,[1] called themselves Callínago, and were called by their womenfolk Callíponam. Further, he gives this very interesting note:

> *Galibi*, Caraïbes de terre ferme. J'ay enfin appris des Capitaines de la Dominique, que les mots de Galibi, et Caraïbe estoient des noms que les Européens leur avoient donnez, et que leur véritable nom estoit *Callínago*, qu'ils ne se distinguoient que par ces mots *Oubaóbanum*, *Baloüéboüum*, c'est à dire, des Isles, ou de terre ferme, que les insulaires estoient des Galibis de terre ferme, qui s'estoient détachez du continent pour conquester les Isles, que le Capitaine qui les avoit conduits estoit petit de corps, mais grand en courage, qu'il mangeoit peu, et beuvoit encore moins, qu'il avait exterminé tous les naturels du païs, à la reserve des femmes, qui ont toujours gardé quelque chose de leur langue, que pour conserver la memoire de ces conquestes il avoit fait porter les testes des ennemis (que les François ont trouvez) dans les antres des rochers qui sont sur le bord de la mer, affin que les peres les fissent voir à leurs enfans et successivement à tous les autres qui descendroient de leur posterité. Ils m'ont dit qu'ils avoient eu des Rois, que le mot *aboúyou* estoit le nom de ceux qui les portoient sur leurs épaules, et que les Caraïbes qui avoient leur carbet au pied de la souffrière de la Dominique, au delá d'Amichon estoient descendus d'eux, mais je ne leur demanday pas si leurs Rois avoient commencez dès ce Capitaine qui avoit conquis les Isles, et quād ils ont cessez de regner.

Today the older Caribs say that their tribe's name is kirirúnꝑ (ꝑ representing a bilabial voiceless spirant), and have quite forgotten the other term; but

1 (R. P.) Raymond Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François* (Auxerre, 1665); *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe* (1666); *Grammaire Caraïbe* (1667).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karífuna*. In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karínaku* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karifuna"!

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callínago, calínago, kalína, karínaku, karína (see kinship term 5) *harmless* > stem kari- *hurt, harm,* and suffix, -na *(free)from* (cf. Breton's "callinémeti *homme paisible, homme de bien*").

2. Callíponam, caripuna, karipúna, caripoune, carifoona, karífuna, kàrirúna (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's karibúteti *sensitive, touchy* > Rat's kaifúteti *fearsome*).

3 Galíbi, caníbi, caríbe, caríve, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, cariva, caribisce, callibíshi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be European corruptions of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -ibe *tribe, kin* (see term 8, and cf. kibeti *many*) and connote *harmful* or *hurtful nation.*

4. Similarly [kawáibe?] > kawahíb, k'wáib (the present local Creole term) > Kráibo (place name) and French caraïbe; probably meant *quarrelsome people, tribe,* or *nation* (cf. kawáiti *quarrelsome*).

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< tábuy *longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he greeted one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chieftainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chieftainship were selected on the

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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guage. One of the first contingent of priests sent to that island, he landed in Guadeloupe, as he himself tells us, "on the eve of the feast of St Peter and St Paul" in June 1635, first went to live among the Dominica Caribs in January 1641, "depuis lequel temps jusqu'à la fin de 1653 j'ai fréquenté parmi eux, avec quelque interruption," and finally sailed again for France early in 1654.[8] From the time of his arrival in the islands, he showed a keen interest in the Caribs' language, culture, and welfare; and his last thirteen years there were spent in long spells of living among them in Dominica, interspersed with trips to Guadeloupe, St Kitts (St Christopher's), and other islands. Philippe de Beaumont, who succeeded Breton in Dominica, appears to have left, on the Caribs, only a long letter in which he pleads that their extermination should not be pursued to the bitter end, and which resulted in the treaty of March 31, 1660, which he himself signed on behalf of the Caribs of Dominica, and by which English and French both agreed to leave Dominica and St Vincent to the Carib. Of the later Fathers, la Borde (1704) does not say how much personal experience he had with the Caribs, while Labat (1724), whose stay in the islands was a long one, mentions only a two weeks' visit in January 1700 to the Caribs of Dominica, who by that time were for the most part concentrated on the windward (eastern) side of the island. In Martinique, hostilities between Carib and white began in 1655, and by 1658 nearly all the former had been driven out of the island or killed. The census of April 12, 1683, showed a total of only 61 Caribs, including women and children, for the whole island; and according to Labat (1724), only one Carib family remained in all Martinique when he went there as parish priest of Macouba. So much for the relative value of our best known sources.

"The *Carib* name for the Arawak whom they conquered in the Lesser Antilles was *Igneri*."[9] Breton does not give this name, though he has: "*Arrouagues, sont les ennemis de Caraïbes*, touálicha, f. alouágue." On the other hand, Ygneri (iñéri?) and its variants (igneri, eyerí, ieri), should be compared with Breton's "eyéri *homme*," and with the present-day Black Caribs' eiéri, iéri, *man (vir)*, in the language of the women.

"According to their traditions, they [the Carib] came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus."[10] This statement also has been made, in substance, by a number of other modern authors, and I should be interested to learn its source. Breton relates one of their traditions, according to which the first Island Carib were mainland Galibis who had left the continent

8 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
9 *Handbook*, p. 545.
10 *Handbook*, p. 547.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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the Spanish loan-words employed by the Carib of Breton's day show, they had already become familiar with iron, nails, wire, etc.

Rouse derives Columbus' "caribales" from "the term *Calinago* or *Calino*."[19] Breton gives: Callínago (Breton's *ll* probably approaches an apical *r;* while omission of the collective suffix, -go, would give Callina) as the men's, Callíponam [karíponā] as the women's name for their tribe or nation. The form "caribales" is more likely to have come from the latter than from the former term.

"*Carib* men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*."[20] The persistence of such differences among the modern Black Carib of Central America (as also, by all acounts, among the last native speakers in Dominica and in St Vincent), would be hard to explain on similar grounds. Rouse seems to be unaware of the fact that, by Breton's time at least, the Cariban dialect of the Igneri's former conquerors had been reduced, in the speech of the Lesser Antilles, to much the same part as had Norman French, by Chaucer's day, in that of post-Conquest England. Therefore, although the Dominica Carib told Breton that they and the Guiana Galibi were of the same descent, their language was already basically different: "Le langage de nos Caraïbes est différent de celui des Gallibys de terre ferme"; and "Diversa utrisque linqua, licet illi ab his descendisse in Insulas dicant."[21]

"No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered."[22] Nevertheless, the 1647 *Relation* speaks of the Caribs being "quite four or five thousand" in Dominica, and "sans nombre" in St Vincent; and elsewhere comments:

> It perhaps be asked why there are so few of them, especially in view of the multitude of their women. They tell you that it is on account of the Christians; for, as one of them told Father Raymond, the Spaniards twice massacred all the Savages of the island of St. Christopher; and once those of Guadeloupe, of whom there escaped only one woman and her children who ran away to the mountains, and, so they say, bred there. They tried to do the same in Dominica, and managed to kill quite half of those there. Since then they have been decimated by small-pox, which they call variola, and of which some died rotting, being still ignorant of any cure for this disease. Moreover, everybody captures and carries off or kills them: Flemmings, English, Spaniards, and their Allouagues, who are their enemies.[23]

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19 *Handbook*, p. 549.
20 *Ibid.*
21 Armand de la Paix, p. 49; Breton (?), p. 132: both in Rennard.
22 *Handbook*, p. 549.
23 Armand de la Paix, pp. 112 and 48.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

121 plaining changes in their social structure is universally recognized by ethnologists today. In an article on American culture history LOWIE recently wrote (36): « Another interesting question is how far the Southeast of the United States has been influenced by the Amazon-Orinoco area via the West Indies ». Further on he mentions the lack of published botanical data dealing with such plants as maize, manioc, and the species supplying fish poisons.

It is the hope of the present authors that at least some of the plant-lore of the Island Caribs may be permanently recorded in this publication. The aim of this paper is to provide accurate botanical and ethnographical information about species gathered or cultivated by the Caribs of Dominica not only today but also (as far as possible) in the past. Certain modern commercial crops — such as limes, oranges, and vanilla — which play a part in Carib economy today have been excluded. It is not claimed that all the species included in our list were found growing in the islands at the time of their discovery, for indeed a number of them are of Old World origin. The origin of such species is stated in the enumeration of plants.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

101 174 At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas were dominated by an Arawakan-speaking people with a stratified society and a religious cult involving priests and idols. These *Tainos*, as they have been called, practised horticulture and made pottery, as did also another, more warlike people called *Maçoriges* or *Ciguayos*, who occupied a part of north-eastern Hispaniola, but about whom little else is known. Nor can much be said about the primitive *Siboneyes* or *Guanahatabeyes*, of whom only a few then remained in the western extremity of Cuba, except that they — unlike other inhabitants of the West Indian islands — had probably come from North America rather than from South America, and still had a non-horticultural and pre-ceramic culture.

191 198 The Lesser Antilles, from Tobago in the south to Vieques in the north-west, were then occupied by a people called *Kariphuna* or *Island-Carib*, about whom the most widely known fact is that they all used two distinct languages: a « women's speech » belonging to the same linguistic stock (Arawakan) as did Taino, and a « men's speech » belonging to the Cariban family of languages. It is less generally known that, by the middle of the seventeenth century when these languages first were recorded, the latter had degenerated to a jargon in the sense that it could not be used for ordinary communication without resort to a host of grammatical words and affixes belonging to the « women's speech », which was in fact the first language of male and female alike. The